

# PEACE NEWS

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Pressure of events will bring

## NEW NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

THE three-day debate on the economic crisis was disappointing in quality: on the whole well below the level of intelligent comment in the press. Mr. Churchill's partisan rhodomontade confirmed all our suspicions that he is now "beneath the level of history," innocent of any understanding of the nature of the crisis in which the country is now involved. For the Opposition to be returned to power with him as effective leader would be a national disaster.

On the other hand, the Government gave one no encouragement. It has no coherent policy for overcoming the crisis. Even Sir Stafford Cripps, who has given plenty of evidence that he understands both what is

### COMMENTARY

by

John Middleton Murry

happening and what is required, was obviously inhibited. He knows that neither the Trade Unions nor the rank-and-file workers—or the employers—will accept the industrial discipline that is necessary. The only thing to do—the Government seems to have concluded—is to wait until the workers are educated by events: the major one being a very nasty drop in the standard of living at the end of 1948. The idea of a Conservative government replacing it is positively forbidding, though the best sense in the debate was talked by some of the Conservative back-benchers. But they do not represent the grand old Party.

### The will of the country

SO I adhere to my conviction that a new National government will have to be formed: simply because neither Labour nor the Conservatives can represent what I believe to be the will of the country—uneducated and instinctive though it be—to survive as a free society. Both parties, as they exist, are too hopelessly doctrinaire: too deeply committed to theories—*laissez-faire* and nationalisation—which are almost totally irrelevant to the nation's predicament.

An immense effort at national re-education is necessary. Neither party is capable of undertaking it. But a combination of the best elements in both might succeed, if it were backed by a great development of patriotic and non-party devotion in the country. The country must have something better than existing Conservatism to fall back on when the forthcoming disillusion with the Labour government is complete.

At present the Labour party is in the condition of being disillusioned with itself. It will always be something of a miracle to me how so many intelligent men as are certainly to be found among the Labour MPs today, can have persuaded themselves that the Labour Party's policy would work. During the debate they

# A POLISH VIEWPOINT

POLISH emigres who for different reasons decline repatriation may be divided into three main groups. Firstly those who came to Great Britain via the Balkans and France in 1940. Secondly those who are coming now from Italy and BAOR, and thirdly those still in Europe and DPs.

Their position today varies, and the first lot being most acquainted with the English language and the customs of the country have most opportunity to settle in Great Britain. The second lot, the so-called General Anders Army, are newcomers and find difficulties both in the language and the English customs. They seem to be the most undecided. The third is in Europe and does not concern Great Britain. They look forward to settling in Europe or any non-English speaking country or the USA. That problem is dealt with generally on an international scale by UNO.

For those who are already in Great Britain or who will come in the near future there is the problem of repatriation or the signing for two years service in the Polish Resettlement Corps. Those who neither are willing to go back nor willing to sign for two years service are sent to separate camps and their future is not yet decided.\*

### No clear policy

Latest enquiries in the House of Commons show that the British authorities have no clear policy in the matter, and no steps are being taken until the number of these "problem Poles" is made known.

The Poles who sign for the Polish Resettlement Corps have at present a clearer outlook for their future. They can find employment in their own trades. The formalities are as follows. The prospective employer applies to the local Labour Exchange for a permit to employ a Pole, giving his name, Polish Resettlement Corps number, name of unit, and stating the amount of wages he proposes to pay. Suitable lodgings have also to be assured. The Labour Exchange then applies to the Home Office and the Army authorities.

The formalities take about one month and the Pole is then granted a provisional discharge from the Army for trial. After a few months, if both parties are satisfied he may be demobilised and settle for good. This procedure is a real asset and is already in operation. Only thus individuals can leave the Army and start a civilian life. The Polish Resettlement Corps is a young organisation and it is difficult to say whether it will cope with the task. The number of Poles who are faced with the problem of deciding which way they should choose is well above 300,000. It is clear already that many have thought the situation over, and decided on repatriation.

### After Italy

This applies especially to those who came from Italy: who met with language difficulties, and then, like a cold shower, the most fantastic accusations of "fascism" or service in the German Army. This has embittered them, because Hitler forced them into military service. At the first opportunity they joined their countrymen, and fought side by side with the Allies under pseudonyms. Now, when they expected a reward only disappointment came, and as a result they leave one by one for the Repatriation Camps.

There are so many Poles who still waver in making a decision, that one cannot tell how many will be left for permanent emigration. From nearly 200,000 in the Army about 40 per cent. may go back to Poland, and the rest will face the problem of choosing a new country in which to settle.

In my humble opinion a very small percentage will remain in Great Britain. Any foreigner in this country will feel, and will be treated, as a foreigner. For a Pole who had to leave his own country, and who did so unwillingly, it is no pleasure to spend the rest of his life in such surroundings. One would rather go among

\*These "recalcitrants" are now being demobilised in the British Zone of Germany.—Ed.

Economic necessity is gradually forcing measures upon the Government which common humanity should have prompted long ago. The question of allowing foreign exiles to work in this country has been hotly disputed between the nationalists of the Communist Party and Government supporters. But what do the exiles themselves think about it? Here is one answer, given by an officer of the emigre Polish army in Scotland.

people who would not object to him, and take him for what he is and what he can do.

The eyes of Poles therefore turn to other Continents. The choice is left between the Dominions, USA or Latin America. Many of the Poles have learned enough English to find employment in the English-speaking countries. The United States holds the main attraction. "Uncle Sam" is well enough off to attract anyone, but the quota of immigrants is appallingly low, and DPs are to take first place.

The Dominions are where one would expect the bulk of the Polish emigres

would be absorbed. Here again more complications are caused by some "unknown powers" which put up a barrier. The barrier is officially called "transport difficulties." If a Pole would like to go to any Dominion he is told about the transport difficulties. If he is quick and enterprising he looks for another way out. He goes to other Consulates and finds himself more welcome. One is reminded of what a Dominion Premier said some months ago, that the Dominions are discussing the problem of the immigration of Poles so thoroughly, that no suitable applicants would be left when they reach a final decision.

It seems to me that Latin America will take the bulk of the Polish emigres. They have every opportunity to be happy there, where to be a foreigner is no bar if one is willing to work. As to the new language—well—the Poles changed it too many times in the last seven years to be afraid of that.

W. CHLEBOWSKI

# A SCIENTIST REBELS

## Against "irresponsible militarists"

Since the announcement in *Peace News* (Mar. 7) that Dr. Norbert Wiener, a distinguished American scientist, had refused to co-operate with that country's defence services, we have received the full text of a letter in which he outlined his objections. It was written to a member of the research staff of an aircraft corporation and printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

I HAVE received from you a note in which you state that you are engaged in a project concerning controlled missiles, and in which you request a copy of a paper which I wrote for the National Defence Research Committee during the war.

As the paper is the property of a government organisation, you are of course at complete liberty to turn to that government organisation for such information as I could give you.

If it is out of print as you say, and they desire to make it available for you, there are doubtless proper avenues of approach to them.

When, however, you turn to me for information concerning controlled missiles, there are several considerations which determine my reply. In the past, the comity of scholars has made it a custom to furnish scientific information to any person seriously seeking it.

However, we must face these facts: The policy of the government itself during and after the war, say in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has made it clear that to provide scientific information is not a necessarily innocent act, and may entail the gravest consequences.

One therefore cannot escape reconsidering the established custom of the scientist to give information to every person who may inquire of him. The interchange of ideas, one of the great traditions of science, must of course, receive certain limitations when the scientist becomes an arbiter of life and death.

### DEATH OF SCIENCE

The measures taken during the war by our military agencies, in restricting the free intercourse among scientists on related projects or even on the same project, have gone so far that it is clear that if continued in time of peace this policy will lead to the total irresponsibility of the scientist, and ultimately to the death of science. Both of these are disastrous for our civilisation, and entail grave and immediate peril for the public.

Of course, I am acting as the censor of my own ideas, and it may sound arbitrary, but I will not accept a censorship in which I do not participate. The experience of the scientists who have worked on the atomic bomb has indicated that in any investigation of this kind the scientist ends by putting unlimited powers in the hands of the people whom he is least inclined to trust with their use.

It is perfectly clear also that to disseminate information about a weapon in the present state of our civilisation is to make it practically certain that that weapon will be used. In that respect the controlled missile represents the still imperfect supplement to the atom bomb and to bacterial warfare.

### GUIDED MISSILES

The practical use of guided missiles can only be to kill foreign civilians indiscriminately, and it furnishes no protection whatsoever to civilians in this country. Their possession can do nothing but endanger us by encouraging the tragic insolence of the military mind.

If therefore I do not desire to participate in the bombing or poisoning of defenceless peoples—and I most certainly do not—I must take a serious responsibility as to those to whom I disclose my scientific ideas.

Since it is obvious that with sufficient effort you can obtain my material, even though it is out of print, I can only protest pro forma in refusing to give you any information concerning my past work.

However, I rejoice at the fact that my material is not readily available, inasmuch as it gives me the opportunity to raise this serious moral issue. I do not expect to publish any future work of mine which may do damage in the hands of irresponsible militarists.

I am taking the liberty of calling this letter to the attention of other people in scientific work. I believe it is only proper that they should know of it in order to make their own independent decisions, if similar situations should confront them.

## PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4  
Stamford Hill 2262All letters on other than editorial matters  
should be addressed to the ManagerMILITARISM WITH  
THE KNOBS OFF

"In no instance, except in Essen, were we aiming specifically at any one factory during the Battle of the Ruhr; the destruction of the factories could be regarded as a bonus. The aiming points were usually right in the centre of the town... The objective of the campaign was to reduce production in the industries of the Ruhr at least as much by the indirect effect of damage to services, housing and amenities, as by direct damage to the factories or railways themselves."

THUS, with a candour reminiscent of Hess's final speech at Nuremberg, "Bomber" Harris, (in *Bomber Offensive*, Collins, 21s.) gives the lie to all the polite talk the BBC used to put over, night after night during the Battle of Germany, about "military installations." Nobody, of course, believed it, except those who wished to believe; and even the BBC (to its credit, and the shocked astonishment of the wishful-thinkers) dropped the mask in the end: at least, we cannot recall any remarks about the atom bombs damaging only marshalling-yards and docks.

Nevertheless, it is as well that the fact should be stated brutally, once and for all. The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki differed only in degree, not kind, from that of Hamburg and Cologne. We are glad to see that the Commission on the Relation of the Churches to the War, appointed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America ("Atomic Warfare and Christian Faith," Friends Peace Committee) acknowledged this at last. It condemns outright, not only "the irresponsible use already made of the atom bomb," but the whole Allied policy of obliteration bombing.

But what are we to think of a Council of Churches which adopts this attitude only after the War has been won? Bomber Harris's jaunty account of the roasting alive of hundreds of women and children in Hamburg is not some startling new revelation: all that he describes was well-known to us at the time, was verified in Vera Brittain's "Seeds of Chaos." And the American use of the atom bomb was no more "irresponsible" than any other operation designed to secure unconditional surrender. If anybody doubts this, let them read Henry L. Stimson's authoritative article, "On the Decision to Use the Atom Bomb" (Harper's Magazine, Feb. 1947.) The logic of Mr. Stimson's argument is incontrovertible, granted his initial premise — which is simply that the War had to be fought.

The Council complains that "the peoples whose governments controlled the bomb were given no chance to weigh beforehand the moral and political consequences of its use." How can a people at war be given the chance to judge a new weapon beforehand, without depriving the military of their greatest advantage, surprise?

To support war at all is to support any and every means by which a victory may be secured. It is time the Churches weighed the moral and political consequences of that. Some members of the Commission have done so: "Since in fact belligerent powers are virtually certain to use any means that seem needed to ensure victory, condemnation of obliteration bombing or of surprise attacks with atomic weapons entails condemnation of all war." The conclusion is belated enough — the time for it was 1939 or '41 — but better late than never. We trust that they will remember the lesson, and make the last war the last for them.

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REAL PEACE AND  
OFFICIAL PEACE

TRUE peace-loving Britons today must feel as the ordinary citizen of imperial Rome probably felt fifteen hundred years ago. The city had been sacked. Barbarians were overflowing the empire. Yet there was no obvious disruption. The old, imperial institutions continued. But everything was more difficult and unpredictable. Worst of all was the rupture. Whatever still remained, the old unity was shattered. The hopes inherent in it, the culture it had fostered, daily receded. Arts and graces were no more than survivals, dwindling. What future on earth was there to live for?

Today more than one Byzantine domain is left. But there is a fatal wound. The unity of Europe and of the civilisation deriving from Europe is gone. Previously, states were careful not to let the wounds pass beyond healing. After each war, victors and vanquished came together again as equal members of a common order. For interchanges of culture, knowledge, goods, the conquered returned to relations with the conquerors more effective for union than those within even the United Nations of today. The outstanding instance was that of France at the feet of her masters in 1814. But now there is barbarism and from within. A barbaric spirit in the ruling powers inflicts its policies at the cost of destroying the last civilised relations between the already almost severed nations of Europe.

## Conscription's Legacy

Of this evil state we know the history. The nationalisation of war, which is conscription, set it going. Employing an abundance of half-truths, mass propaganda from 1914 took it along its way. Destructive power, allied with fear, pride and a measure of reason and morality, descended further, to reach total war. Aware of a horrible and a guilty condition, national self-righteousness joined with policy to put the sole guilt upon the defeated. One nation especially, has become the sin-bearer.

The fruits are as we have seen. The conquered have died in numbers from hunger and cold. They have been driven from their homes to starve in cellars. Their young men, in millions, have been held here and

— by —  
PERCY REDFERN

in France and Russia as state slaves. Their inventions are appropriated for the victors' gain. Their minds are sieved and those disliked are further deprived. Not for them the rights regarded as inalienable by the free.

They are a people without status, divided between masters, poor as none others are poor, left without hope. Yet worse than all this is the separation of peoples into free and bond; trustworthy and near criminals, masters and serfs; for this separation shatters the old moral unity of Europe, destroying that which inherited from the one-time united Christendom its civilisation and its hope.

On the economic side already truth appears; by impoverishing one nation nothing is done for any other. Our masses here at home never really believed that absolute victory would be defeat. They felt it must preserve the old plenty at least, while allowing easier work with better pay. Now they have had to endure the firelessness and the queues for coke of the fuel crisis. Now they are asked to work harder for continued short rations, to expect fewer houses, to be further taxed, and to put up with conscription — guns instead of butter.

And now they can hear students of affairs discussing whether hard work will be sufficient to prevent British standards lapsing to the present German, when the vast sums borrowed for victory and after have ceased to help us, but must be repaid instead.

"This dollar problem," says the famous White Paper, "can be wholly solved only by the economic recovery of Europe and the Far East." But real peace demands far more than that whose country we occupy shall pay their way and leave a surplus for the occupiers.

No people is simply economic. All

## Pacifists and Palestine

MAURICE CRANSTON accuses others of self-deception, but his own argument is distinctly woolly. He says it is false that "partial disarmament" will promote peace, but that "Britain can legitimately claim to hold the ring" by maintaining an army in Palestine. Surely the object of the British forces in Palestine is to disarm Jews and Arabs, whilst remaining (for this very purpose) armed themselves. And that is "partial disarmament" — deprecated by others!

Cranston's ideas on Palestine are based upon a belief in overwhelming force. It is a common opinion in this country and could be used to justify the continuation of British rule in India as it is used to justify imperialism in all parts of the world. But it is not a pacifist or even a democratic view.

The objection to maintaining peace by overwhelming force has its roots in these two sources. Those who value liberty are not prepared to buy peace at that price. Civil war threatens in Palestine for the same reason that two world wars have been fought in our generation: because there are things men value more than peace. Speaking purely as a democrat, I should say that if people hold this view it is not for me, or for Maurice Cranston, to force peace upon them.

Those who resisted Hitler would presumably have resisted any third party which might have attempted to force peace on the world dictatorially, by reducing all the belligerents to a subject status. As a pacifist I did not fight against Hitler; but I respect the opinion of those who did, share the desire for freedom which many of them felt, and could certainly not have desired at any time to force peace upon them by becoming myself a super-militarist and a super-dictator.

If I were not a pacifist, I could consider the use of British forces to assist an independent democratic government in Palestine in defending itself against a desperate and heavily armed minority (such as the Jewish

terrorists). As a pacifist I cannot even approve of that. The suggestion that pacifists, who do not believe even in defending their own legitimate rights by armed force, should use or support armed force where it has no such moral authority behind it is so preposterous that it should be beyond discussion in these pages. Our only right to "police" Palestine is by right of conquest; and the only "peace" we can give that country (where the chief problems are of our own creation) is a state where our victims, the Arabs, and our former protégés, the Jews, are bludgeoned into unwilling submission — neither a democratic nor a pacifist solution.

REGINALD REYNOLDS.

20 Jubilee Place, S.W.3.

## LETTERS

## For cultural restoration

WE wish to appeal to your readers for books, pamphlets, and periodicals for Germany. Germany has been culturally isolated for the past fourteen years, and many valuable books have been destroyed in libraries and private houses by the Nazis and by acts of war.

If a stable Germany is to emerge from the present chaos it is imperative that large numbers of men and women should be trained in the shortest possible time, and this is a possibility only if sufficient educational material is available. The need for books and periodicals is desperate, particularly those dealing with educational, technical, political and economic subjects. German schools also need exercise books, pencils, chalk and other school equipment. We feel that

there are many people who have a spare book or two on their bookshelves, or periodicals for which they have no further use, after having read them.

Anyone wishing to help should write to us, enclosing a stamped and ad-

## BLACKOUT

THE dangerous reversion to blackout in our ice and fog-bound streets seems symbolic in little of what man is blindly doing on a world scale. Our cries should be for "more light"; not resort to remedies that increase the darkness and danger.

Hard on the heels of our own domestic difficulties comes the shock of world crisis. As though by sudden lightning flash, presage of gathering storm, we have just seen power politics revealed in all their starkness as the deliberate policy of the world's dominating Powers, a monstrous portent overshadowing all our tomorrows.

In the present world situation revolutionised or revealed by this flash in the night, over against this policy of vast and unprecedentedly equipped rival complexes of power, we set our simple pacifist faith — in the eyes of the world pitiable weakness: but more and more men will come to see it as the only way, the saving, constructive and eternal Power. May it not be too late? We need your continued support in this our PPU witness.

MAUD ROWNTREE  
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Joint Treasurers.

Contributions to HQ Fund since Mar. 7: £16 6s. 0d. Year's total to date: £88 19s. 1d. Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurers at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

are human. Right relations are and must be the beginning of every good. And while total victory is barren and dictated peace a cheat, no masses can remain merely disillusioned. Recovering hope, if a desperate hope, they will want to go on, and will cry for leaders who will help them to go on. As after imperial Rome, when civilisation was broken, there will arise an urge to build again, perhaps better, but certainly again.

## Lessons for the masses

In time the masses will know they have lost. They will have seen that attributing all evil to one nation, and exclusively condemning it, has helped none. Just as important, they will have learned that no standard of life is improved by knocking down an industrial and commercial rival; and they will want to turn from leaders incapable of less barbarous ideas. To whom should they listen then, if not to those who have never surrendered their belief in one common humanity, capable of good and evil both, and who always have rejected war's literally cut-throat competition in favour of ways of live and let live?

We pacifists have had to keep our integrity as within an ivory tower.

To encourage the disillusioned and to fraternise with the defeated, now we must sally out, facing the present dark age with a proved hope for a real civilisation.

dressed envelope, for details of the scheme which has been organised with the full approval of the Control Office for Germany and Austria. We shall be most grateful for any help in this very urgent need.

ERICH HIRSCH, Secretary.  
S. H. WOOD, Chairman.  
German Educational Reconstruction.  
15 James Street,  
Long Acre, London, W.C.2.

## From Bad Godesberg

WE of the "Old Brigade" are trying to instil again into the hearts of the younger generation that which 12 years of Nazi ideology had almost succeeded in stamping out; the belief in a great family of nations, in international goodwill, and in the blessings of peace.

Now we have a number of young pacifists in our local branch of the "German Peace Society" whom we want to mould into useful citizens of the coming era — if our optimism should be justified — of international co-operation.

Are there possibly any young readers of your paper who would care to enter into an exchange of correspondence with youthful members of our branch, in order to aid them in their quest for truth and political knowledge, and to strengthen in them the as yet rather tender shoots of the democratic idea?

In the first instance, all such letters should be addressed to me as below for transmission to suitable members.

E. J. T. DIENER,  
Hon. Secretary,

"Deutsche Friedensgesellschaft"  
44 Rolandstrasse  
(22c) BAD GODESBERG  
North Rhine Province  
British Zone of Occupation  
North West Germany.

(LETTERS CONTINUED ON PAGE 6)

# GOVERNMENT OR GOVERNMENTS?

**This and other vital German questions  
were answered by**

**JACOB KAISER**

**Leader of the Christian Democratic Union in Germany in an interview with Gerd Treuhaft**

JACOB KAISER is one of the leading political personalities in post-war Germany. Since 1906 he has taken an active part in German politics. As a member of the Christian trade union, and later a member of the Catholic Party "Zentrum," Jacob Kaiser was well-known in Western Germany, and especially in the Rhineland.

When in May 1933 the Nazi Government tried to dissolve the Christian Trade Union and to incorporate it into the Deutsche Arbeitsfront, Kaiser refused to collaborate with the Nazi Government. In 1938 the Nazis accused him of high treason against the state, but they had no evidence and he received his freedom again.

Six years later, the CDU leader took an active part in the preparation of the anti-Hitler plot on July 20, 1944. With Wilhelm Leuschner and Max Habermann, who were victims of Nazi terror, he took part in the anti-Nazi underground movement, and after the failure of the plot, lived over a year in a cellar, constantly in danger of being picked up by the Gestapo.

#### Unions reorganise

Shortly after the end of the War, Marshall Zhukov gave permission for the reorganisation of the German Trade Union, in which Kaiser still plays a leading part, being also Chairman of one of the strongest political parties in Germany.

I had the pleasure of meeting Jacob Kaiser and Dr. Dertinger, the General Secretary of the CDU, and of asking them the following questions:

How far is the CDU connected with the former Catholic "Zentrum" party?

There is no connection. Membership of the "Zentrum" party was limited to the German Catholics. The majority of the German population in Western Germany is Catholic, but we have set no religious bar to our party, and I am glad to say that in the Soviet zone of Germany we have a large membership coming from the Protestant circle—25% to 35% of our electors in Eastern Germany are Protestants. Therefore, the opinion that our party is receiving any financial backing from the Pope is certainly not true.

#### Parents' responsibility

Has your party some special project concerning the education of German children, which may be based on religious principles?

No, we have no such project. We believe in a democratic education and our party does not interfere with the home lives of German children. We hold the opinion that the parents are responsible for the education of their children, and it is their responsibility to make them democratic citizens.

Is it true that reactionary elements and former Nazis are now trying to join the ranks of your party, and that they are even taking leading positions inside your party?

Our party has the lowest figure of former Nazis in the Soviet zone. Every new member of this party is carefully checked.

What is your opinion of the de-Nazification process?

The de-Nazification process, as it is dealt with at present, may more or less lead to a re-Nazification of Germany. If the Allies do not speed up the procedure, we may still hear about de-Nazification five years from now.

As the procedure in its present form doesn't differentiate between a major Nazi and just an ordinary follower, the real Nazi criminals have enough time to hide themselves, and are even able to evade the procedure.

Do you think that the Nuremberg verdicts were justified? And what do you think of

the Nuremberg Court setting Papen, Schacht and Fritsche free, whilst the German Court is now imprisoning them?

Yes, I think the verdicts were very fair. You must understand why the German Court is now condemning Papen and Fritsche. It is like dealing with criminals who have committed two offences. Nuremberg set Fritsche and Papen free, and now the German Court is dealing with the second charge, which is crimes committed on the German people.

What is your opinion of the forthcoming conference in Moscow?

The forthcoming conference in Moscow is not only of vital importance from a foreign point of view, but the result of the conference will have a tremendous effect on German internal affairs, and on all German parties. We can only hope that some kind of a positive result will come from Moscow.

Is your party supporting centralisation or de-centralisation in Germany?

We do support to a certain extent the de-centralisation of Germany, but we need a central government, and the various countries inside Germany, such as Bavaria, Saxony, Rhineland, etc., should have as much independence as possible. But let me say this—this independence should not go so far that every country inside Germany is able to have its own passport, a different currency, or a different postal system. We should try to give them the same independence as you will find the various States have inside the USA.

Do you agree to the present Eastern Block of Germany?

This is certainly a very difficult question and it may be easier to answer it in the capitals of the Western Powers. As all the essential products which Germany once received from the former Eastern provinces of Germany have now to be imported either from England or

from America, both countries are feeling the economic burden. Now it depends on the Western Powers if they are willing to bear these burdens and for how long.

How strong is your party?

In Berlin we had at the last election 450,000 votes—that is 22.1%. In the French zone we have 43%; in the British 34%; in the USA 47%.

Do you think that in a general election you will have a chance to become the leading party in Germany, and at the same time would be able to form a German Government?

Yes, there is a very good prospect that we may become the strongest party, and I can tell you that we have the personalities who could form a government. We have good relations with all the occupying powers—but no financial or ideological support from them, such as you may find among the other leading parties inside Germany.

## A broader outlook needed

—WARNINGS BY  
NPC SPEAKERS

HAVING been a member of the British Delegation to the meetings of the UN Assembly in New York, Mr. Kenneth Younger, M.P., was able to give a most interesting address on "Britain and the United Nations" at the NPC lunch-hour meeting on Mar. 5.

When Mr. Molotov indicated acceptance, in principle, of the disclosure and inspection of armed forces and armaments at home and abroad, it is probable that he did not expect to be taken at his word. By an act of statesmanship, however, Sir Hartley Shawcross drafted a resolution embodying these principles, which, in face of world public opinion, the Russians will find very hard to repudiate.

The UN Economic Commission for Europe may be the start of something better for that Continent: its inception was agreed to by both the Soviet Union and the smaller powers of Eastern Europe.

It must be remembered that a number of coloured peoples have representation in the UN Assembly. They are extremely suspicious of the Imperial Powers, and these Powers in the future are going to feel the full weight of these suspicions.

On March 12 the subject before the meeting was "Far Eastern Storm Centres." This was dealt with by Miss Dorothy Woodman, BA, Secretary of the Union of Democratic Control. She regretted the absence of Col. D. R. Rees-Williams, MP, for whom she was acting as deputy, but he had been sent by the Government at very short notice to Burma, as Chairman of the Frontier Areas Committee.

It is not generally understood what a tremendous effect the second world war had on Asia with the political awakening that has taken place amongst its peoples. In the opinion of the speaker it had a far greater effect in Asia than it had in Europe. We are so Atlantic minded, so European minded, we fail to understand not only what is happening in Asia, but the inter-relatedness of the problems of Asia with those of Europe.

Now that the Labour Government had broken away from the tradition of imperialism in India and Burma, it was hoped that these countries could be withdrawn from the category of "storm centres." But in Indonesia and Indo-China the Dutch and the French respectively were fighting colonial wars, whilst China was in the throes of civil war. The discussion of China at the Moscow Conference, if it led to the co-operation of the powers instead of unilateral American action, might strengthen the progressive forces in China.

**Words of Peace - No. 208**

### Friends or Enemies

"Do good to thy friend to keep him, to thy enemy to gain him."

—Benjamin Franklin.

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#### Rome still beautiful

Rome in 1947 is as beautiful and gay as ever it was. Ignore the wall-posters, disregard the newspapers, and there is little but the sight of Allied uniforms to remind you of war.

One can sympathise to an extent with those visiting MPs who recently complained in the House of Commons at the austerity imposed upon Britain, whilst Rome luxuriates in plenty. Had I not seen southern Italy, nor felt the grim quiet of Milan, I might have wondered what all the fuss was about, why the Relief Organisations were here—why UNRRA operates in Italy. If a visit to Rome is made representative for Italy as a whole, then it would indeed be difficult to resist the criticism I heard in England, that Relief Organisations are here to provide super-luxury for Allied personnel.

Memories of poverty and misery fade as one strolls through the streets of Rome. Here are not even the professional beggars—at least they are not obtrusive—and even the street cigarette sellers are well-dressed: hawkers in fur coats! There is evidence everywhere of wealth in Italian hands. In bus, tram and train I look carefully for signs of malnutrition, poverty and overwork, and cannot find them. There is none

underneath the Vatican walls, hard by St. Peter's, we encountered a crowd of hysterical housewives demonstrating for more bread and the previous month's rations. The same day we witnessed a long column of men and women, marching silently behind huge placards which inveighed caustically against black marketeers and food speculators.

In conversation with the ordinary wage-earner, one hears the same old story. There are two Romes, as there are two Italys. One for the rich and one for the poor. This interminable theme is garnished here with the now so familiar comments: "Italy has no proper Government. Its politicians are all rotten with graft. The Bureaucracy is hand in glove with the racketeers. The Church is two-faced, grasping and corrupt. There is nobody who cares about the common people. The future is hopeless. There must be another Mussolini, etc."

So far, I have found but three convinced pacifists in Rome, and they were all English! But there must be a movement here because the other day I came across these slogans, written in 18in. lettering on the Banks of the Tiber.

PERCHE L'ITALIA NON SIA TRASCINATA A NUOVE GUERRE VOTATE PER LO STATO NEUTRALE.

LA LEGA PACIFISTA E REPUBLICANA—VOTATE PER LA REPUBLICANA E PER LA PACE.

BASTA CON LE GUERRE—LEGA PACIFISTA.

L'ITALIA STATO NEUTRALE.

PACE—LIBERTA—GIUSTIZIA.

In order that Italy should not be dragged into a new war, vote for the neutral state. The Pacifist League is Republican. Vote for the Republican party and peace.

Enough of wars—Pacifist League.

Italy a neutral state.

Peace—Liberty—Justice.

FREDRICK LOHR.

# THE LAST CHANCE

THE worst Christmas box ever presented by the British Government to the German PoWs was the concession which allowed them to fraternise and visit British homes. It drove the largest nail of complacency into a door already fairly firmly shut, which prevents them from returning to their native land.

If the Government wished to quieten the conscience of those who cared, they couldn't have chosen a better way. For certain it is that since that time (except for a few members of the Lords and Commons) nobody seems to be troubling further about the matter.

So all prisoners are to be sent home by the end of 1948! And I venture to suggest that by the "fall" of next year there will lie readily to hand another harvest (1949) and a further excuse for their continued retention in this country. What is the matter with the mind and conscience of the people of this country to allow such an outrageous travesty of justice? Already the frequent cancellations and deferments of prisoners waiting to be transferred to repatriation camps, which was practised on the Italians, and which months ago I foretold would be exercised in relation to the Germans, is taking shape. To quote just one example. A young lad of 18 years was sent from a Midland hostel to a repatriation camp in the Eastern Counties last October. *He is still there.* Apparently, so he was told, he is of too tender an age to be sent home yet awhile!

## 100,000 UNSCREENED

Do the British people realise that there are probably some 100,000 prisoners who have not yet been screened, and that until this has been done they cannot even be considered in the repatriation scheme? That the methods employed are so slow that very many months must elapse before this self-righteously imposed task is completed? Then only if the Authorities get a move on.

Thousands of young lads were forcibly transferred to S.S. units towards the end of the war. This was a deliberate policy of the German

## WORLD GOVERNMENT —HOW?

OPENING the Federal Union Brains Trust at Conway Hall on Mar. 13, entitled "World Government —How?" the Hon. Max Aitken, M.P., Question Master, said that he thought it was significant that a non-political organisation with its emphasis on international affairs could gather a larger audience than he had seen in the hall by any political party for a very long time.

Members of the Brains Trust were Mr. Robert Boothby, M.P., Mr. R. W. G. Mackay, M.P., and Miss M. Wingate, Chairman of the Council of Federal Union. In reply to the question, "Might a World Government be totalitarian?", Miss Wingate said that the whole problem was that we should get a World Government in the present atomic age and if it were not to be totalitarian it must be federal in character.

Mr. Robert Boothby, speaking on UNO, said that it was virtually a menace, for it might act as a drug, which would lead us to believe that the world was safe from war; while Mr. Mackay said that UNO was the same as the League, and all it could do was to ask 55 nations what they wanted to do, and each of the 55 would ask what the other fellow was going to do. UNO could never successfully control a World Police Force, because a police force must be controlled by government and UNO was not a World Government. He also pointed out that the term "sovereign equality" meant nothing.

Mr. Robert Boothby said that the question of Russia was extremely complex, partly through history, partly through present-day actions such as Mr. Truman's recent speech, and partly through her own behaviour, but if we made an honest effort to form a European Union to solve the European chaos, he thought that Russia might in time co-operate.

All three members of the Brains Trust were emphatic that the answer to the question of Germany and Austria was that they could be given economic equality without being politically dangerous if they came into a federated.

**'The retention of the PoW's makes a mockery of our democracy writes—**

**A. J. GOWING**

High Command (and without doubt known by our Military experts) to prove that not all S.S. regiments contained tough characters. Unfortunately for these young boys they are classified as Nazis.

But see how carefully this screening is done. Out of one hostel containing 109 men only one was classified as Non-Nazi. And he was the only one who was a member of the Party! A fact well known to the Authorities at the time of his screening. Incidentally he is a very fine person, but it doesn't alter the principle of the thing. Of course he is very useful for democratic purposes. He speaks and writes English fluently. He is teaching all the prisoners the language of democracy. But you would be very interested to hear what he thinks about this screening. It is the laughing stock of every camp.

## GROWING DISLIKE

Talk to these men alone, when you have gained their intimate confidence and friendship. Their comments are forceful and to the point. Furthermore they are getting to dislike us most intensely. And I for one don't blame them in the least. The official

mind has about as much understanding of what is taking place in the hearts of these men as a cat sitting in the middle of the Sahara desert.

Over 350,000 slave labourers label us a nation of self-righteous humbugs.

Our lectures on democracy are received with the utmost scorn and ridicule. The prisoners require *proof* of our good intentions. Up to now we have singularly failed to produce it. We have whittled away the finest opportunity ever presented for a firm and lasting friendship with the German people. Indeed we may well have laid the seeds of a future war between our two nations. The responsibility does not rest on Government shoulders alone. Each and all must stand convicted.

## A CONTRAST

A recent appeal of mine in Peace News brought a fine and generous response. My own gratitude and what is infinitely more important, the appreciation of the German prisoners to all these kindly folk is truly sincere. Parcels have been sent from meagre rations to the families of very many German prisoners. Contact has been established between these men and those who have so generously offered to help. But my article in Peace News urging speedier repatriation brought only one reply. With all my heart I would have wished the response had been the other way round.

## RETRIBUTION

by Rev. H. J. DALE

THE time has come when the whole question of retributive punishment needs to undergo very careful examination.

One of the Psalms declares very emphatically that God "hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities." Such a declaration ought to be sufficiently disturbing to produce feelings of uneasiness regarding the methods commonly employed for dealing with wrongdoing. Supposing God had dealt with men as so often they deal with one another—what then?

## A great truth

The fact is that in this ancient word is disclosed a truth it would be exceedingly advantageous to place in a much wider context than is generally accorded it. In almost startling fashion our minds are forced to acknowledge the tremendous chasm which separates the human approach to the violation of the moral order, and the divine. How often, for example, we hear it said, with reference to the treatment of offences, that justice demands the punishment of evil; that the penalty must be made to fit the crime. Is it not rather a time for revising some of our archaic ideas about justice, punishment, retribution?

After all, what is justice? and how can it possibly receive satisfaction by the mere infliction of punishment? Too long has mankind laboured and suffered under the false notion that crime can be expiated by the imposition of a judicial sentence. It may sound very specious and help to maintain people's confidence in the "just" ordering of society; but both psychologically and morally the idea is unsound.

But what is even more regrettable is the frequency with which God is visualised in the character of a Judge, dispensing rewards and punishments in direct proportion to the rightness or wrongness of man's conduct. It is not, however, in any supposed similarity between the human method of dealing with evil, and God's that we discover the real meaning of justice, but in their distinct contrast. In the matter of God's treatment of man's failure, it is well to bear in mind the utter inappropriateness of the language and spirit of the Law Court.

Everything turns upon the motive that prompts the particular course of action. In the case of judicial methods of treating offences the primary purpose is that of inflicting punishment. With God the central

and underlying intention is regenerative. It is at this point, therefore, that we are made really aware of how wide and deep is the gulf which separates our human measurements and conceptions from God's.

In his pride and arrogance man boastfully claims both the right and the power to apportion blame and to pronounce a fitting penalty. Whereas in infinite pity and longing for man's greater good God acts quite differently.

His method is not that of vengeance, an equal measure of punishment for a given amount of crime, but of seeking by every means possible the reclamation of the sinner. Not by means of retribution but by way of forgiveness does God strive to turn men's steps from ways of evil towards high and noble achievement.

Yet that is not all. Forgiveness implies something infinitely more far-reaching than the pardon of offence. It carries within itself the power of achieving a tremendous transformation in the life of the individual concerned.

## Personal responsibility

There is, of course, a very real sense in which a person must himself bear certain consequences of his wrong-doing. The law of cause and effect has moral as well as physical implications. But the surpassing truth revealed in the way God deals with delinquency is that through the fact of the divine forgiveness mind and will are liberated to indulge all their powers in the service of what is best in life.

In a word, forgiveness is creative of a new existence; it releases untapped energies and unsuspected potentialities. No longer is the life bound by the deadening and destructive influence of lower desires, but is offered a wonderful sense of freedom by the liberating, renewing and redeeming power of a new hope.

Few, surely, if given the opportunity, would fail to make glad response to this recreative and transforming experience, were they to grasp its real significance. For this reason the words of Jesus still possess a terrible warning for us in these days: "If ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your heavenly Father forgive you your trespasses."

The extent to which we shall prove deserving of forgiveness must always depend upon the measure of our willingness to forgive those who injure us. If only the whole of mankind would learn and act on this truth, peace would soon be a world-wide reality!

## Book Review

### A SERVICE TO THINKING

The Timeless Moment, by Warner Allen. Faber and Faber, 10s. 6d.

**T**HERE are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamed of in your philosophy." But we never look for them, that is the pity of it.

The world's gone stale on us, all is flat and unprofitable, even war, yes, even peace! Miracles no longer happen. But they do. They do. "O, that men would seek immortal moments," said a poet, but we dismiss that. Poets are either idlers or too robustious for us.

And then quietly and with untroubled infection in his accents Mr. Warner Allen comes along and tells us that not so very long ago he saw God and in Godlike language conversed with Him.

There is a grating authenticity in the manner in which the author seeks scientific corroboration from the great of the past, Plato, Plotinus, St. Theresa, Coleridge, and he has a single-minded austerity that the merely inquisitive will find hard to bear with.

## "Why?"

His question had been none other than the tiny child's "Why?" The answer came unexpectedly in the form of a miracle. After his "Union with God" he cannot tell us very much because it is only the creative artist who can pass on to others an experience in as vivid a form as he received it. (And it was not actually Experience in the philosophical sense of the term.) But he tells us with conviction, irrevocably, beyond doubt, that we are part of God.

That is the starting point of the book, and continuing from this assumption he examines the world as it appears through the eyes of Experience (that terrestrial part of us which in this age judges data by a rationalisation of sense experience). The manner in which the Union transcends Experience is aptly put in this passage.

"This Unity is called by philosophers the Absolute and by theologians, God, and the vision is the realization in Experience of the presence of the Divine within the Self. The divinity of Ego as the principle of Consciousness may sound a hard saying to those moralists who so rightly describe selfishness and egotism as the source of all sin and evil, but selfishness and egotism are concerned not with the divine subject, but with the objective self of Experience which is gathered round Ego in this mortal life like the body round the soul. They are the denial of the kingship of Ego in the Self and the setting-up of Experience in his stead."

## The horizon

In so far as the book is an attempt to "place" transcendentalism among cogent rationalism without disturbing the finely balanced machinery the author is doing a service to thinking, and adding to our capacity for conviction, but when, in the last two chapters, he scans the philosophical horizon from the eminence he has attained in the course of his studies, we find ourselves doubting him for the first time; but here he only gives us opinion. The journey is still before him, and he has promised to chart the course and hand us on the maps in the future. Which will be something to look forward to.

This book has relevance to pacifism because the pacifist has demonstrated his belief in the unity which mystics affirm, by acknowledging that he is a part of it. This acknowledgement takes the apparently negative form of a refusal to disrupt the unity. But in a context where the unity is the important factor it is of course the disruption that would be negative.

**Kenneth Lambert**

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## Bunclark on RITUAL MURDER

"I BIN thinking," said Mr. Bunclark, a little aggressively. Beneath the latter I lay low, like Tar Baby.

"About this here Ritual Murder," continued Mr. Bunclark, sharpening his razor and testing it, with the air of a High Priest about to perform.

"It's a funny thing, you know. Some niggers out in Africa bump off one of their black brethren because their chief has died. And then along comes the Governor to say they can't do that there here; and so he takes five of 'em to string 'em up. First he's going to, and then he isn't; and he goes on dilly-dallying till somebody asks about it in Parliament. You read about it?" I nodded.

"WELL, what I can't make out is whether we're there to abolish Ritual Murder or to teach the niggers how to do it properly. Some say this and some say that, but the way I look at it is them heathens have got nothing to teach us. We have the same custom; but, being a civilised people, we do the thing better. When a man's killed we go through a lot of palaver in the Courts. All in good time a victim is selected by the jury, or more victims if need be—say five, as was the case with these niggers. And what happens? Does the judge get up and swipe him one with the sword of justice, or tell the jailor to strangle him then and there? Not at all."

"On the contrary, from that moment extra precautions are taken for the victim's safety; and if he gives 'em the slip with a taste of cyanide there's the devil to pay. Look what a fuss they made when old Goering put a quick one over on them. They aren't interested in just getting rid of the man. What they want is the trap-door ceremonial at eight a.m.; and the man's life is guarded till that moment as though he were the King himself."

"NOW that's ritual for you. There's no ritual about knocking a chap off sudden-like with a blunt instrument, or putting rat-poison in the old man's soup. But if you get caught they'll show you how to do the thing with a proper

respect for the proprieties of killing. Of course, by the time they've finished with you, it's too late for you to profit by the instruction. But as you wait your turn in the condemned cell—a ritual in itself that the amateur murderer never seems to practise on his victims—you can console yourself that others may learn from this example of how the thing ought to be done.

"The trouble about these niggers is they do things too crude. They understand murder, but their ritual is too primitive. Now if only they was to keep the victim under guard for a few weeks, show him the knife now and then, inspect his jugular and measure him for a coffin, I don't think we'd have any objection when the moment came—

"I'm sorry, sir. It's only a scratch. You moved your head, but you needn't have got the wind up. I was only demonstrating, like."



## "UNCONDITIONAL" TO STAND IN NEW BILL

AT a meeting of the No Conscription Council held on Mar. 15 the following was passed unanimously:

"The Government has now tabled its Bill for military conscription and despite the fact that the maintenance of our forces on the scale proposed can only aggravate the country's difficult situation in regard to man-power, it would seem that we have to face the fact that it is the Labour Party, in defiance of its whole moral tradition in this matter, that seeks to make Great Britain a conscript country in peace-time.

"At this time of vital importance for the future we ask all those who are opposed to the imposition of conscription in Great Britain to do their utmost to prevent the passage of this measure.

"All those who endorse this protest and are willing to help are asked to communicate with the No Conscription Council, Room 16, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2."

ON Mar. 12 the Minister of

Labour introduced a National Service Bill (Bill 46; H.M. Stationery Office; 6d. plus postage) to extend conscription after 1948, the bulk of its provisions applying only from Jan. 1, 1949.

Under the Bill youths called up after 1948 are to serve full-time in the Forces for not longer than 18 months; after that they are to have a total of 60 days training spread over the next five and a half years as members of the Territorials or one of the reserves.

### UNTIL 1945

The Bill is to continue until Jan. 1, 1954, though people called up under its provisions may still be serving after that date. The period can also be extended by Order in Council if both Houses of Parliament consent.

So far as conscientious objectors are concerned the existing provision for C.O.s to be registered unconditionally is to remain as at present.

The chief alterations in the position are these:

1. C.O.s conditionally registered by Tribunals will be registered for a total of 18 months plus 60 days to cover both the full-time and part-time service of the ordinary conscript. This means that C.O.s will in fact serve no longer than non-C.O.s. After the total time has elapsed conditionally registered C.O.s become registered unconditionally. C.O.s will cease to be bound by their conditions after their time is up, whether they have complied with them or not, though as at present, it will be an offence not to comply.

2. Conditionally registered C.O.s are to be liable to be directed to medical examination for the purpose of ascertaining their fitness for the work. There is no suggestion that this medical examination can in any way be used for Army service.

3. Alternative service is still to be specified by the Tribunals and the Ministry of Labour have not taken power to do this themselves. There is, however, a provision that if a C.O. has not got a job covered by his Tribunal condition within a month after it has been imposed, the Ministry may serve him with a direction to undertake a particular job within his condition; to refuse to comply with such a direction is to be an offence punishable in the same way as failure to comply with the Tribunal condition.

### ARREST WITHOUT WARRANT

4. Where a person prosecuted for refusing medical examination has been ordered by the Court to submit but has refused to be examined, he is then to be liable to be arrested by a policeman without a warrant. This appears to mean that there will be no need for a second summons to be issued but that, on refusing, a C.O. can be taken into custody straight away and either let out on bail or kept on remand until the next hearing of the Court.

5. Section 13 (about C.O.s in the Army who refuse orders) is being altered to provide that a C.O. may have a Tribunal after three months or more detention as well as penal servitude or imprisonment.

Where a person has been conditionally registered under Section 13 he would normally be expected to comply with his condition for the full 18 months plus 60 days, but the Ministry may reduce this period, as, for instance, if he had a period of earlier paid Army service to his credit.

6. References to Women in the Acts and to being called up for Civil Defence are to be omitted. The composition of the Tribunals is to be varied slightly.

Even if the Bill is passed none of these amendments are to come in force until Jan. 1, 1949, except the slight alteration to the Tribunals.

### BIRTHS

KALISCHER. FEB. 16, at Leeds Maternity Hospital, to Margaret and Peter Kalischer, a daughter, Ingrid Magdalene Robson.

SUMMERS. MAR. 8, a son, Andrew Julian to Dorothy and Cyril 113 Bailey Drive, Liverpool, 20.

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### MEETINGS, &c.

BOURNEMOUTH. Friends' Meeting House, Sun., Mar. 30, 6 p.m. Spkr.: Minnie Pallister.

CONWAY HALL. "What is I.V.S.P.?" Come to Public Meeting at Conway Hall on Apr. 29.

GT. HUCKLOW. Nightingale Homes. Week-end School Sat. & Sun., Apr. 26 & 27. Spkr.: Frank Dwyer. "The Prisoner in Prison." Sun. a.m. "The Prisoner in Society"; p.m. "The Death Penalty." Cost 12s. 6d. Sat. tea to Sun., tea inclusive. Booking with 2s. 6d. must be in by Apr. 1 to Eleanor Pease, 28 East Bank Place, Sheffield 2.

KINGSWAY HALL, W.C.2. Bazaar, Sat., Mar. 29, 2.30-8.15 p.m. for Indo-British Cultural Mission to India: Public Meeting, 2.30 p.m. Opener: Reginald Sorenson, MP; Chairman: Roy Walker. Stalls, Buffet, Side-shows, Indian music, dancing, etc.

LONDON, W.C.1. 8 Endsleigh Gdns., Mar. 28, 7.30 p.m. "Time and Free Will," Bryan Anstey, B.Sc. Central London Group, PPU.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

LONDON, W.C.1, 8 Endsleigh Gdns. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Mar. 23: "The Work of the Freedom Defence Cte. and Civil Liberty." Laurie Hislam. Mar. 30: "The Drama as a Social Force." Geoffrey Pittock-Buss. London Anarchist Group.

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### LITERATURE, &c.

"INDIA AND the World." Monthly. Indian cultural and social Monthly. Contributors include: Guy Aldred, Roy Walker, Swami Avyakatananda, Stephen Hobhouse and others. From: E. & W. News Service (PN), 26 Fellows Rd., London, N.W.3. 1s. post free: annual sub. 10s.

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# Truman's bid to end Russia's nerve war

made the impression of being thunderstruck at the turn of events.

## Truman clears the air

BRITAIN'S embarrassment has been the cause of an amazingly forthright declaration of American policy by President Truman in regard to the Middle East in general, and Greece and Turkey in particular. On the whole, I find it welcome. It clears the air. Some may be shocked by the combination of democratic-ideology and power-politics; in so far as they are people who are not shocked by the combination of Communist ideology and power-politics, one may discount them. To the others one must say simply that in the world in which we live, Mr. Truman's declaration, if it is endorsed by Congress, will certainly do more good than harm.

Since there is not the faintest chance of a genuine agreement between Russia and the Western powers within the next few years, it is much better that the power-vacuum between them should be reduced as far as possible. A declaration by USA that Greece and Turkey now lie definitely within her "sphere of interest"—in other words, that she takes over, or at least shares, what have always been known to be Britain's commitments in the Eastern Mediterranean—may put an end to the highly dangerous situation created by Communist infiltration into Greece, and the Russian war of nerves against Turkey.

## Where democracy stands

NOR do I think it reasonable to profess complete cynicism about President Truman's statement of principle and policy:

"Totalitarian regimes imposed on free peoples, by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States."

If Congress endorses that, it will become the most important declaration of American policy for many years; and one entirely relevant to the modern age. For my own part, I do not see where the Western democracies can make a stand at all, if they are not prepared to stand on this. If the free societies are to have any principle of world peace at all, this is the one they must have. And it is really not good enough to murmur sardonically "oil" because

## Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, March 20, 1937.

Many pacifists want to know what to do. My advice is: Think hard in terms of actuality and see what conclusions you come to. The PPU is a body of individuals who have come to an individual conviction. What that conviction implies it is your business to discover for yourself. Don't ask me if you ought to join organizations which will be of the greatest assistance to war-waging authority. Think it out for yourself.

—Max Plowman.

"Armaments can only be made by the skill of the British working class . . . The capitalists are in your hands. Refuse to make munitions, refuse to make armaments and they are helpless. They would have to hand the control of the country over to you."

—Sir Stafford Cripps.

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## COMMENTARY CONTINUED

it is applied to Turkey and Greece. If Russia, to see that there were free elections in Poland, had taken one hundredth part of the trouble Britain took to see that there were free elections in Greece, the world today would be a much more hopeful place. The Russians, having placed military "security" before everything, and having torn up the Yalta declaration in order to get their way, have aroused in USA a mood of suspicion and hostility which they have sought in vain to disarm by "yielding" the Pacific bases to her. It was an empty gesture. The damage had been done.

### Gromyko's coup de grace

RUSSIAN policy in Eastern Europe since the end of the war has not merely been outrageous, but criminally stupid. It can only have proceeded from a fantastic ignorance of the psychology of American democracy. The brazen imposition of satellite governments in defiance of the Yalta agreement has already had to be paid for by the complete cessation of American relief on the eastern side of the iron curtain. Any favourable impression on USA that might have been produced by the Russian attitude over the Pacific bases was completely overwhelmed by the effect of Mr. Gromyko's curt rejection of the American plan for the control of atomic energy. That came as a real moral shock; and it has convinced serious-minded Americans that understanding with Russia is out of the question. Thus Russia prepared the ground for Mr. Truman's message to Congress, which—if accepted, as it probably will be—constitutes a revolutionary change in American policy. Truly, a remarkable achievement for Russian policy: to have caused such a revolution in the American mentality in two years.

The only explanation I can offer for such ham-handedness is that the Russian leaders do really and truly believe that all democratic idealism is sinister humbug—a bluff that can be called by the exercise of brute force. Much of it is humbug—though it is seldom sinister; but some of it is the noblest force that exists in the world today. The Russian leaders have shocked the conscience of America, because they do not believe that such a thing as conscience exists. They will pay heavily for their mistake.

### Dream-world scientists

THE series of BBC talks on Atomic Energy (published in a single issue of The Listener, Mar. 13)

makes sombre reading. The words which stick most in my mind are these of Sir George Thomson:

"None of us who are physicists has escaped the feeling of sick horror that what ten years ago seemed a triumph of intellect now adds a supreme danger to our badly shaken civilisation. No one is more determined than we that this danger shall be turned to a blessing."

Determined, no doubt. But how to achieve the end? There is (I think) real danger in trusting to the scientists in this matter: for the scientists are not realists. They still believe in the effective existence of the international scientific community. If it did exist, it could deliver humanity. But it does not exist. And it cannot exist so long as one totalitarian society exists in the world. The secrecy of the totalitarian society must always make nonsense of the idea of an effective world-community of men of science.

The New Statesman (Mar. 15) criticises Bertrand Russell for being unfair to Russia in his talk. Inspection would compel Russia "to give up their chief defensive weapon, which is secrecy." That is terrible nonsense. Secrecy is the chief weapon of nations preparing for war. It is because the Baruch plan would have abolished secrecy by consent that it opened a door into a world of peace.

### A crime against humanity

IF Russia will not give up her secrecy, as all other nations have offered to do, it is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that the other nations will eventually gang up together to compel her to do so. I have seen it argued that when Russia has acquired the capacity to make atom bombs herself ad lib. she will no longer be afraid, and then will begin to behave rationally. I am unconvinced. Will she then agree to the establishment of an Atomic Authority "with teeth"? Why should she? Will she not rather threaten to use her atomic bombs to defend her "secrecy" still further?

I regard the Russian rejection of the Baruch plan—approved by 10 out of 12 nations on the Atomic Commission, satellite Poland alone standing with Russia—as a colossal crime against humanity. If the leaders of Russia have really spoken their last word, they have done all they can to prevent the abolition of war and to sentence mankind to death. I hope that mankind will refuse to be sentenced to death.

But that refusal demands concerted political action against the nation which refuses to come in. It does no good to imagine that the scientific community can give the world peace today.

## The Atomic Impact

A NOISELESS flash followed by a thunderous bang introduced man to a new world of physics. An event as startling as the discovery that the world was round had been made.

Yet like all discoveries it carried certain responsibilities. Since these responsibilities have been shirked, the attention of readers is drawn to Professor Wilson Knight's study of "the sun-bomb," and also to four other equally important books: "God and the Atom" by Ronald Knox (Sheed and Ward, 7s. 6d.), "Programme for Survival" by Lewis Mumford (Secker and Warburg, 3s. 7d.), "Hiroshima" by John Hersey (Penguin Books, 1s.), and more recently, "Man and the Atom" by C. E. Vulliamy (Michael Joseph, 8s. 6d.). Unanimously these writers, without compromise, condemn—either by direct or implied statements—the condition of mind that sanctioned the use of such a weapon.

These books prompt the following statements: that the principle of atomic warfare ultimately means:—(1) complete human annihilation; (2) the destruction of man's conscience; (3) the break-up of all moral law and order. On these grounds the Directorate of "The Wind and the Rain" (The Phoenix Press, 15 Newton Court, London, W.C.), invites all those who agree wholly or partially with these conclusions to subscribe to a motion that atomic energy should never again be used for purposes of warfare.

Such petitions should be sent direct to local Members of Parliament or to the above address where they will be forwarded. Those who believe such efforts are vain, should remember the eventual results of Victor Gollancz's campaign to "Save Europe Now."

Finally, world control of atomic power is only possible if it is freely chosen by the people and is not today the prerogative of the G-man, tomorrow of the Commissar. It must be remembered that peace can never be achieved at somebody else's expense: often it is only gained through self-sacrifice. "Greater love than this no man hath, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

## LETTERS

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE TWO)

### Now Barabbas . . .

IT is a pity that in his notice of "Now Barabbas . . ." Roger Page should praise it with faint damn. He first condemns the title, which many of us think was a brilliant inspiration, but his other comments are more serious. He tries to find the wrong purpose in the play and then blames the author for not making clear his purpose. Must a play have a purpose?

All Douglas-Home has tried to do was to produce a document revealing the characters of the men who go to prison and of the officers who look after them. In a local prison there can hardly be any opportunity for revelation of character, but Douglas Home reveals from his own experience the interplay of character where the normal restrictions have gone. He does not set out to portray a bad prison; he does show the dangers and weaknesses of the better prison with its free association, where there is not also a serious effort at character training and a high integrity in the staff.

The introduction of a condemned cell and an execution is the use of a writer's licence in an effort to display the effect such things have on prisoners and staff. They do not in fact arise in the sort of prison presented in this play. Apart from this however, it is difficult to know what technical mistakes Roger Page would correct. Douglas Home drew not only on his own experience, but also on that of others with prison knowledge, including an ex-prisoner chaplain. The visit scene and the mess-room fight like other incidents, may be incredible to Roger Page but they were taken from actual experience.

I hope, with Roger, that your readers will visit the Vaudeville, but they should go to see the play for what it is and not for what someone else thinks it ought to be.

FRANK DAWTRY.

34 Victoria Street,  
London, S.W.1.

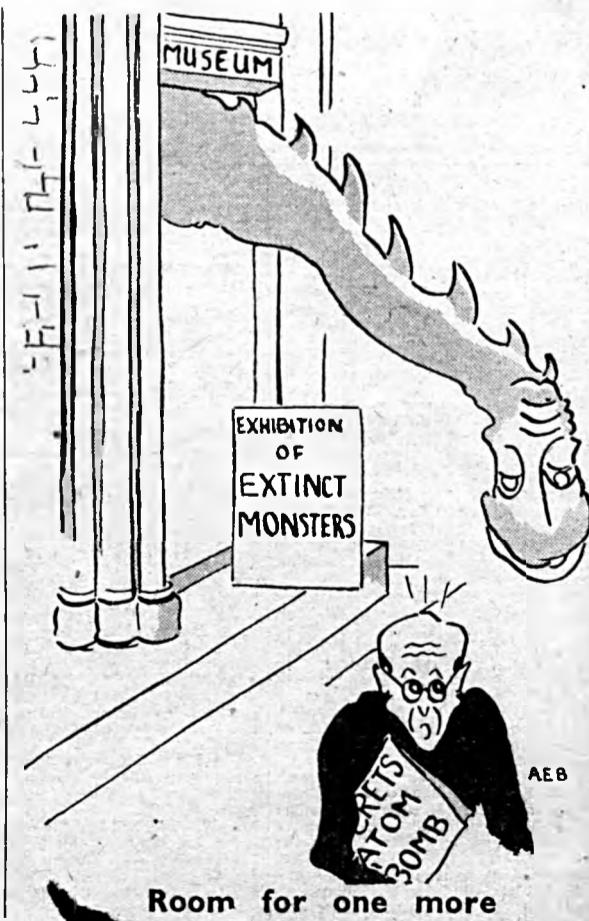
### "SAVE EUROPE NOW"

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Three additional plane-loads of supplies collected by PPU Headquarters and others have been flown to Germany.



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